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(Selections from native writers.)

Păk-je (A. D. 9—305) (Capital, Chik-san, Ch'ōong-ch'ung.)

KING Ch'ōgo (A. D. 167-215) had often heard that the wife of Minister Tomi was very beautiful, so he took Tomi aside one day and said. "For beauty of character and chastity your wife stands first and yet after all there is no woman who will not yield to secret flattery." Tomi replied; "It is true one cannot fathom man's heart and yet I know that a woman of my wife's character would rather die than yield to dishonor." The king had him wait in his presence, and secretly sent a courter, personating himself, to the home of Madame Tomi. He arrived and announced that Tomi was absorbed in a game of patok, and proposed that she accompany him. "I will dress and come," said she. She returned to her rooms, fitted out a maid-servant, decorated her with paint and powder, and sent her to the king. The king saw that she had deceived him, and he in his turn deceived Tomi, smoked his eyes until he had blinded him, put him in a boat and pushed him out to sea, and then called on Tomi's wife with renewed proposals. "I am not to see my husband again," she said, "and cannot be expected to live other than a concubine, but I am ill to-day. May we not meet tomorrow?" The King was again outwitted. That night she fled by boat to Ch'unsung island where she found her husband and from there removed with him to Kogooryu.

KOGOORYU (A. D. 143—221.)

In A. D. 143, Tă-jo king of Kogooryu dreamed a dream in which he saw a leopard take a tiger furiously by the tail. He

awoke and called a sorcerer who explained it. "The tiger, holding the mastery among animals, means Your Majesty; the tail, your posterity; the leopard, belonging to the same class though smaller, points to a near relative of your own who will wage war against your children." Two years later he abdicated in favor of his brother Soosung who was then seventy-six years old and known as Ch'adă king. He killed the palace courtiers, slew the heir, forced the second son to hang himself, and left father Tă-jo to die of grief at the age of one hundred and nineteen.

In the autumn of the same year a man by the name of Tapboo assassinated king Soosung and set up his brother Pakgo. Fifteen years later he died and his son Naumoo succeeded and reigned for nineteen years. He had three brothers, the first called Palgi, the second Yunoo and the third Kesoo. When the king died, the queen, keeping it a secret and pretending that she had a royal command, went to Palgi's house at midnight. "The king, having no issue," said she, "wishes to announce the fact that his brother shall succeed him on the throne." Palgi, not knowing that the king was dead, replied; "When the king dies heaven will undoubtedly make it clear as to who shall succeed, let us have no secret conference about the matter; why should your Majesty come walking out at this unseemly hour of the night." Oossi, ashamed, broke off her conference and went at once to the second brother Yunoo's house. Yunoo received her gladly, helped her to wine and meat, and when seated together, she began. "The king is just dead, and there being no one to succeed, I went first to Palgi's house, he being the eldest, but he told me I was ill-bred to be out at this time of night and o I've come to talk to you." Yunoo took up a knife and began slicing the meat, when he cut his finger. Oossi took off her skirt band and gave it to wrap his finger with and said "It's midnight, some disaster may overtake us here, let's go!" So taking Yunoo's hand they hurried to the palace, and on the following day Yunoo was proclaimed king, afterwards known as Sansang.

The same day, Palgi, in great wrath, mustered soldiers, surrounded the palace and called out "You, regardless of the laws of succession, have seized the throne by force, committing a great sin. Come out at once or I'll have your wife and family cut to pieces!" For four days Yunoo kept the gates closed, and the soldiers refused to obey Palgi's orders, so he called for aid from the Chinese magistrate of Yodong, fought a battle in which he was defeated, and had to fly. Yunoo sent his brother Kesoo in pursuit. Palgi saw Kesoo coming, turned on him and said "Would you dare to kill your elder brother?" Kesoo answered

"Our second brother did wrongly in not stepping aside in your favor it is true, but your flying into such a rage and desecrating our ancestral temple with the presence of foreign soldiers was a greater sin still. With what face will you meet the late king when you return to Ch'ihā (Hades)? Palgi, overwhelmed with shame, suicided by cutting his throat.

Kesoo, weeping, buried the body temporarily and returned. The king met him and said "Palgi with his foreign soldiers attacking his own country has sinned horribly against the late king. The fact that we let him off at all was unbounded goodness, so what do you mean by all this weeping, casting discredit on me, eh?" Kesoo answered "Please may I say one word and then die. The queen, according to the command of the late king, has chosen you rightly as successor, but the fact that you did not decline in favor of one older, shows that you have lost the spirit of brotherly love. For this reason I have tried to bring some virtue to you, and so have covered our brother's body before I returned. The king is angry with me for this I know, and yet who would say that he had done wrongly if, for the sake of kith and kin, he should give his brother proper burial? I have no more to say, you may take my life now." When the king heard this he came out and sitting down beside Kesoo said; "I have degenerated, and have resorted to violence but now the words of a faithful younger brother call me to repentance. What is there I can do? Do not reprimand me too severely!" With this he gave orders to the Minister of Ceremonies, to have Palgi's body interred with all the forms of a kingly burial.

Oossi had now been Yunoo's queen for seven years but still no heir. In the 3rd moon there was a royal progress made to a mountain and sacrifice was offered for a son, and on the 15th of the same moon, the king had a dream when he saw an angel come down from heaven, who said; "I will give you a son through a second queen." He awoke, summoned his courtiers, and told them his dream but said "I have no second queen; how can it come to pass?" In the 11th moon of the same year they had assembled on a plain to sacrifice to heaven, when the swine to be offered escaped and ran scampering off through Choot'ong village. In the same village, there lived a buxom maiden, eighteen years of age, said to be very pretty. She heard the uproar, and, laughing, tripped out and caught the pig and held it till it was secured.

The king was filled with wonder when he heard this and that night, dressing as one of his subjects, he went secretly to the home of the maiden. He proposed that she live in the palace. She said she dare not disobey the king and yet she

would ask that any children born to her should be acknowledged by His Majesty. This was granted.

When Oossi heard of these things, she sent soldiers to capture the maid and kill her. But she, dressed as a male, fled until horsemen in pursuit overtook her. Turning on them she said "Did the king indeed order you to kill me? My child unborn is the king's flesh and blood. You may kill me but will you dare to kill the king's son?" The soldiers hearing this turned back. Some months later the child was born, and because he was associated with this sacrificial animal they named him the "Meadow Swine." Later on he became heir to the throne and had his name changed to Owigu, his mother becoming one of the palace ladies-in-waiting. Eighteen years later the king died.

Owigu succeeded, known afterwards as king Tong-ch'un. He honored the twice queen dowager Oossi with the title Tā-hoo. Five years later, when Oossi was dying she confessed that she had broken her vow of chastity and in other ways had been a very wicked woman. "With what face dare I meet the late king Nammoo in Hades? Still I ask you not to cast my body away but please to bury it by the side of Yunoo." The day after the funeral the spirit of king Nammoo, possessing itself of a sorceress, spoke; "When I saw Oossi turn to Yunoo I could not contain my anger and now we've had a time of it in Hades; I feel ashamed to let the people know and yet I must order that those graves be shut off from one another." Forthwith, seven rows of pines were planted between the graves.

SILLA (A.D. 123—350.)

We are told that king Nahă (A.D. 196-231) held as hostage the son of the king of Kaya.

There were formerly in Karak nine cantons, each having a chief. The people lived in clans without king or courtiers. It happened one day, when these nine clans met in council, that they saw peculiar atmospheres arising from the neighborhood of Koobong, accompanied by sounds in the upper air. Thither they went and found a gilded box which, on opening, contained six eggs all of pure gold. In a little these eggs metamorphosed and six men stepped forth, tall in stature and brilliant in countenance. The one who came forth first was chosen king and because of the golden egg they named his family Keum (gold or metal.)

The clan name of the present dynasty is I (李) a character that has for radical mok (木—a tree). Keum, being metal,

cuts wood, it is said, and for this reason they changed the metallic ring of Keum to Kim in order that all might be propitious for the present dynasty. Hence the fact that we hear the family name Kim today, never Keum.

King Keum was named Soolo (First Born) and founder of Kaya: the other five also became kings in tributary parts of this Kaya kingdom.

KOGOORYU A. D. (221—331.)

In A.D. 241 the Emperor of northern Wi ordered Moogoogum the governor of Yoo-jo, with two provincial magistrates, to subjugate Kogooryu. King Oowigu had altogether 20,000 infantry and cavalry. He met the barbarians there and defeated an army of 30,000 barbarians on the banks of the Piroo river; again in Yang-măk he defeated a like number. Elated over this success he foolishly said, "Moogoogum, the famous general of the Middle Kingdom, will find his life in my hands today." He followed him up at the head of 5000 cuirassiers. Moogoogum took up his position in squares and, fighting furiously, beat back all attacks of Kogooryu so that the king at last fled with only a few hundred men.

Moogoogum then destroyed the capital of Kogooryu and sent general Wang-geui in pursuit. The king at last reached Tongboo, his generals scattered, none but Miroo was left. "Cavalry men" said Miroo "are after us; we cannot escape; I'll stand and fight until I die; in the meantime let your Majesty escape for your life." With a few desperate soldiers Miroo rushed into the ranks of the enemy and died fighting. In the meantime the king escaped and from his hiding place gathered a few followers. "I'll reward anyone" said he "most richly, who will rescue the body of Miroo." Yoo Okgu, hearing this, started at once for the battle-field. There he found the body of Miroo among the dead. Lifting it on his back he carried it to the place of rendezvous and laid it before the king. The king rested his head on Miroo's thigh, where he seemed to faint away, and only after a long time did he come to life again.

But the enemy was still following on, and all escape being cut off, Ch'ookyoo a native of Tongbo said to the king; "Under such circumstances there is nothing for it but to die. Let me prepare wine and meat and go to the camp of the enemy, regale the soldiers and kill the general. In the meantime let your majesty prepare to make an attack."

He went forthwith, and pretending allegiance said; "Our king has sinned against your honorable country and has fled to the

sea-shore. He wishes to surrender to your excellency before he dies, and so he has sent me ahead with these few ill-prepared viands which the soldiers may perhaps care for. General Wang-geui, receiving this message of surrender, did not notice that Ch'ookyoo had a sword concealed beneath the food. Watching his opportunity, quick as thought he plunged it into the breast of general Wang-geui and then committed suicide, spreading consternation through the whole army.

The king of Kogooryu dividing his troops into four battalions made an attack, routed the Wiites on every side and once more established his kingdom. He gave office to the sons of Miroo and Ch'ookyoo and the year following removed his capital to to P'ingyang.

In the reign of Sangboo (A.D. 290-300) the Chinese again made an attack on Kogooryu, sending general Moyongoi. He reached the district of Kogook and there attempted to dig up the grave of Nakno, father of the present king. While working at this the soldiers were struck dead as by fright, and from the interior of the grave there came sounds of music. "The devils are after us," said the Chinaman, and returned home with his army.

JAS. S. GALE.

IN THE DIAMOND MOUNTAINS.

AT last we struck the well-made road—the work of the monks—leading up to Chang An Sa. Through a thick grove of Scotch firs and pines—among them the pine yielding the oily luxury known as the “chat” (pine nut)—we approached the monastery. The yellow sunlight on the red trunks of the firs, combined with the darker and lighter greens of the pines, made a picture not to be easily forgotten, especially where a brief view of the mountains above was had through the parting branches.

After still more difficult fords we caught sight of the first monastery, Chang An Sa, perched in an amphitheater of the gorge and shut in by pine forests on the mountain sides. One more ford brought us into the monastery grounds. The part through which we first passed looked like a carpenter shop and board yard combined. The main temple was undergoing repairs; there were some forty carpenters employed, besides laborers to bring in the logs from the woods where they were hewn and marked.

We had some difficulty in getting suitable rooms but presently a young priest of pleasing appearance and high rank gave up his room to Mrs. Bishop, and I took one corner of the general sleeping-room, shut off by a low screen. Then we sat out on the porch and admired the mountain scenery till dark.

As we passed the monastery kitchen we noticed a plump little boy of twelve standing just like an English butler, with his hands under his apron, which, from the fulness of his fat arms, not to mention that of his stomach, protruded with a decided prorusion. A number of other boys were doing chores about the place most obediently and industriously. Some of them I sincerely begrudged to the priests, and would gladly have invited to our school, if that had been an honest course to pursue. The monastery seemed quite an asylum for the infirm, young and old—one woman gave her age as eighty-seven—and all seemed very well treated and well governed. Perhaps the most striking peculiarity of these mountain retreats was the

well maintained appearance of harmony and good feeling between all classes, although outside Koreans more than once declared that they had there fallen among thieves.

Mrs. Bishop's room unfortunately was next the kitchen; so, as she said, she "was baked, fried and generally done up brown, in a temperature of 91°." I was in the next room, just beyond the partition, with twenty-five or thirty men for room-mates. I was afraid to open the tightly closed doors lest they should object, for many of them were sleeping without covering. One candle-light shone upon the picture of Buddha and the hideous ornaments about the altar, and upon the tossing, moaning forms of the sleepers. At midnight the scene was as infernal as I ever want to see. In desperation I at last threw open the door and, turning my head towards it, found relief in the peaceful night scene and the fresh mountain air, until sneezing and coughing here and there, warned me to close the door, leaving a mere air hole at my nose.

Retiring early, about nine o'clock we were awakened by the ringing of bells, the beating of gongs and wooden sleigh-bells, and the chanting of praises to Buddha. This was repeated in prolonged measure in the morning at four o'clock, the rising hour for the monks.

We went sight-seeing after breakfast and saw the Buddhist temple with its coat of many colors in intricate designs, its gilded Buddha, sitting in calm contemplation under a canopy of finely sawn and jointed wood with incense burners and books of prayers and lists of the dead for whom mass had been duly paid, on the altar and tables before them. Along three sides of the room were the conventional host of servants, men, demons and animals.

Near by was the Temple of the Ten Judges, each having at his back a picture of some horrible torment reminding one of the Inquisition, being the product of the same master mind, the Devil. On all sides were special shrines, and government buildings marked by the circling tadpoles. These are for the use of officials when they come up to worship or to have a good time.

The only thing valuable was a little pagoda of ancient workmanship, bronze with gold beaten into the indentations of the design.

Beyond Chang An Sa there is not a horse nor ox to be seen—the reason why was evident. So after sight-seeing we engaged four men to take us and our necessary baggage up the mountain, paying them a good wage of one hundred nyang—two dollars gold—and board for two and a half day's hard work and one day's rest. I noticed a priest carrying off the larger part of

the wages. The chair was simply two poles with a frame-work in the middle resembling a rude arm-chair. It was very comfortable when upholstered by a feather pillow and was admirably adapted to its use.

About the briefest description of the next day and a half would be rocks, rocks, rocks. Rocks over which we traveled by jumping the crevices or walking tight-rope style over a rail; rocks around which one wound his way by clinging to their irregularities to keep from falling into the torrent below; rocks over which the water roared and fell in beautiful waterfalls; rocks at the foot of the falls forming golden basins filled with emerald water; rocks covered with the Chinese names of visitors who especially admired that particular bit of scenery, said names forming the only foothold on the slippery surface; rocks, sloping rocks, which the monks had rendered half-passable by drilling holes, driving pegs and laying logs above the pegs; rocks on which were perched little shrines; a rock ornamented by a huge bas-relief of Buddha, ninety feet high and thirty feet broad at the base; rocks carved into lanterns, altars and odd shapes to cover the ashes of the dead; rocks all interfilled with pines, ferns, moss and other vegetation. Surmounting all, the grand cliffs and peaks of the mountains themselves, the ancestors of the rocks below.

But the climb was broken by a rest. After traveling over rocks and bridges for about two miles, a short walk along a bit of level green brought us to a bridge. Crossing this and ascending through several roofed-gates, we reached the court-yard of Hypo Hun Sa, where everything looked fresh, clean, and newly painted, it having apparently taken the lead in the repairs that were in process at the other large monasteries. The doors of the temple itself were in excellent condition, adorned by carved peonies. Every inch of the building, except stone and tile, is painted in the ever-present red and green entanglements.

After a brief rest we were guided by a boy up to Chyang Yang Sa, off the direct road, up the side of the chasm from which the best view of the mountain peaks is had. It was quite a climb but was through thick shady woods. Here we found a very odd six-sided temple, with a roof most intricate in its structure.

From a pavilion one obtains the famous view of the eleven thousand peaks across the gorge. The long line of cliff, jagged at the top, forms the spurs which Koreans in round numbers have reckoned at eleven thousand. Of yellow granite, age has given them a silver grayish effect, brightened, when we saw it, by the setting sun.

Next morning we called by invitation on the grandmother of the sub-abbot. We found her in a neat little house by the side of the temple, a bright old lady of about eighty who had come up from Seoul to be near her grandson and to die in this blessed retreat.

Further up the gorge we passed the great rock Buddha described above. Beyond this the gorge grew clearer of rocks, the woods thinner and the trees smaller until we caught a glimpse of the sky ahead and a few more zigzags brought us to an open space on the top of the ridge. The trees and shrubs that had long ago finished blossoming in the lowlands were in bloom here and those blossoming below, pear, cherry and nepenthe, were hardly swelling their buds.

Two young priests accompanied us all day, one of them inviting me to share his rice from the handsomely carved and polished hard wood bowls he carried. As he traveled along he was continually singing over the "Na Mu Ami Tabul," carrying it through all changes of time, accent, tune, at the same time presenting his bill to Buddha on his beads. I asked him what the words meant. "Just letters," he said, "they have no meaning, but if you say them many times you will get to heaven better." Then he presented me with the string of beads and taught me the syllables, saying: "Now you keep the beads, say the words and you will go to heaven." Poor fellow, I told him of "the Way, the Truth and the Life" and we had a long talk as we journeved. On the sabbath he invited me to his room saying that I would find it a quieter place to study my belief. I feel sure he is trying earnestly to walk heavenward and over a hard path full of deceitfulness. I believe many of the priests, especially the younger ones, are like him. I have hopes for them but fear the older ones are deeply insnared. "With God all things are possible."

The woods on the east side of the mountains are full of giant pines and firs, comparatively untouched except where some have been killed by robbing them of their bark. On the dead pines we saw the peculiar moss from which priests make those wisp-broom-like hats they sometimes wear when "on the road."

After the down-hill zigzags we struck another rocky gorge running south-east and this we followed to U Cham Sa. Our approach to the monastery was evident from the timbers lying on all sides newly hewn for the repair of the temple.

Passing the cemetery with its oddly shaped stones we were shown the pools said to have been the bathing places of dragons in olden times. They are nothing more than pot-

holes, places where a boulder has worn a hollow in a rock on which it rested by its rolling and revolving in the force of the current. Arrived at the monastery we were taken into the government buildings, where we made ourselves quite comfortable, though not without insisting on the rights gained for us by our passports.

The morrow being sabbath, we spent it quietly in our rooms. Here too, I was impressed by the bright, busy boys around the monastery. Che On I offered one, who had not yet had his hair cut, a piece of chicken, but he refused it because he was a Buddhist. A sneaky tramp-like looking priest told him that, as long as no one saw him, it was all right. But he still refused to eat it.

While we lacked the animal food we very much needed during our hard climbs, we had plenty of rich vegetable food. The pine nuts that abound here partly take the place of animal oils, being rich in fatty matter. Then the sea weed, not at all bad to the taste, dipped in a batter and fried in oil, excelled many a variety of cracker for its rich salty flavor.

On Sabbath night we were wakened by the ringing of the monastery bell and got up to see the night worship. We found our friend the young priest standing in a little tile-roofed building in the faint glimmer of a paper lantern, tapping the bell with a knot of wood and chanting his worship of Buddha. It was a weird scene and the mysterious language whose meaning even the chanter knew not, added to the weirdness. The chant ended, with a mallet in each hand he beat a rhythm on the sides of the big bell, beating faster and faster till he ended with a flourish that used up all his strength and activity. Then sounded out into the deep valley the three full sonorous tones that ended that part of the worship, produced by striking it on the lip with a log of wood. The bell being eight inches thick on the lip and quite thin above, the difference of tone is great and the effect impressive.

The priest then led the way to the temple. Here we found another priest in the "dim religious light" from the lamp in the alabaster bowl before the idol, chanting to the accompaniment of his little bell, struck with a branch of deer's horn. The idol here is really a group of fifty-three idols situated among what close inspection shows to be a representation of the upturned roots of a tree. Below are three hideous dragons. The meaning is this: When the fifty-three priests from India came to Korea to introduce Buddhism they came to this place and sat by a well under a "Nuram" tree. As they sat there, behold, three dragons emerged from the well, began a combat with the priests and in the conflict called up a great wind which over-

threw the tree. The priests, not to be outdone, placed each his image of Buddha on the roots of the tree, making an altar of what was intended for their destruction, like the saint who, when the devil tore off his chariot wheel, took the devil himself, twisted him into a wheel and rode on to Rome. Finally the priests overcame the dragons and drove them into the well, upon which they piled great rocks, built the temple on top and founded this monastery. The priests show, in proof of the story, the place where the water from the well comes out further down the hill. These are probably the same dragons that used to bathe in the Dragon's Pool mentioned above. The most improbable thing about the legend, aside from the fact that a Buddhist priest told it, is that the dragons, being Korean dragons, ever bathed.

On each end of the altar and on each side of the temple was a huge bouquet four feet wide and ten feet high of paper peonies of various colors.

In the morning the young priest took me on a tour of inspection, and I had a good opportunity to see the priests of a first-class monastery in their private apartments. These consisted of a large living room and a number of cells, just large enough to lie down in. All were very clean. Each cell contained the private shrine of its occupant. The priests seemed busy studying, and apparently lived a happy, peaceful life, compared with the fate of the ordinary Korean. However, this is only their place of refuge and each must seek his support by pilgrimages over rough Korean roads and through dirty Korean towns where he receives "low" talk from the very slaves and begs for his living. Some probably have rich relatives who help them liberally. As I chatted with a dozen monks they sent the boys out for refreshments and treated me to square cakes of pine nuts glued together with honey, a rich delicacy; for what is oilier than a pine nut and sweeter than honey? I suffered for it the rest of the morning.

Just before we left, to descend the mountains, the old abbot invited us into his room and with his own hands prepared a repast of more honey, pine nuts, popped rice glued into thin cakes with honey, sweet cake and Chinese candies. As the hospitable old man busied himself, I could not help comparing the culture of Confucianism, as seen in Korea at least, with that of Buddhism. The former is conceited, indolent, often insolent, while the culture of Buddhism, even though it be superficial, is in appearance considerate, gentle above all things, and hospitable.

As we took our departure, all the priests and laborers around gathered to bid us good bye, the older men following us down to the road.

Descending the rocky gorge some distance, we turned up towards the west through thick woods full of rocks. After a hard climb of several miles we reached a pass 3700 feet above the sea, from which a broad view of the Japanese Straits is had. Then down again through similar woods over a stair-like path lined with ferns and flowers, magnificent flowering ferns, and specimens of *Felix Max* forming baskets in whose centers often another plant spread its leaves and flowers. Here and there thro the woods we found little log cabins, at one of which we had a good Korean dinner. The latter part of the journey over bare mountain sides was very tiresome but we finally reached Chang An Sa, late in the day.

Here we found our belongings well cared for by the young priest in whose room we had left them, but the candles in my boxes were melted and tied in knots by the heat of the floor and some taffy was turned to molasses and had covered everything in my tin provision box. That night was spent as our first had been and the next morning we left the mountains with a feeling of relief at leaving behind us the constant sights and sounds of idolatry. We took a back track till noon and then struck off north for Wonsan. A long hard climb brought us to a high plateau over which we traveled for a day, and found it very fertile tho very little occupied. That night we stopped at the only inn on the road. The inn-keeper and wife gladly gave up their room to Mrs. Bishop, which kindness she returned in the shape of a pair of scissors presented to the house-wife. I wanted to sleep in the yard, but the host would not let me for fear of tigers. So I had to sleep in a room eight feet by ten with seven other men, a cat and a bird. By tearing the paper off a window near my head I saved myself from death by suffocation, and could have had a good night's rest had not the four horses been crowded into two stalls in the kitchen. They found quarters so close that they squealed and kicked and bit and fought all night, and their drivers helped them make night hideous by their yelling.

F. S. MILLER.

WHAT KOREA NEEDS MOST.

AFTER fourteen years abroad I have returned to the land where I was born and reared, with a heart full of expectation that during these years the country must have made some improvement in national life in general, but my disappointment has been great, and it grows greater every day as I begin to know more of Korea. In fact, the country is in a worse condition to-day than before my departure from Seoul fourteen years ago. The first thing that makes my heart bleed is the condition of the people. They seem to be perfectly helpless, and have no plan whatever as to what they should do in order to make a living. The Koreans have never known the rights and privileges of citizenship in an independent and civilized state; but for many centuries they have been left to themselves in a hermit kingdom and they have been happy and contented in their way. Since the beginning of intercourse with foreign countries, they have been caused to pass through several trying periods in their national history, and they know not how many more troubles and sufferings are in store for them in the future. In late years the government has introduced reforms into all departments, and by one stroke of the brush, laws and customs centuries old have been wiped off the statute book. The new rules and regulations are still unfamiliar, and mostly unknown to the people. The political horizon is still darkened by threatening clouds, and the policy of the government has been changed with lightning speed. So far they have not seen, nor have they been benefited by the beauties of the new reformation, but only the disturbances, riots and other unpleasantnesses which have deprived them of their occupations, and, in many cases, of their lives. Then is it to be wondered at that distrust and suspicion are entertained in their minds at the present? History tells us that no country in the world can exist and prosper without the coöperation of its people. My purpose in this paper is not to discuss politics, but to endeavor to

bring before the public my idea as to how to bring about the solution of this grave problem.

The government must know the condition of the people, and the people must know the purpose of the government. The only way to bring about mutual understanding between the government and the people is the *education* of both parties.

What Korea needs most at the present is *men*, and many of them. She wants *men* in every department of her organization, who understand not only how to rule, but how to teach others and guide them into the right path as a shepherd does his wandering flock. The Koreans are capable of learning any science or art, and their natural mode of thinking is very logical. If they are properly taught they will become very able rulers as well as teachers. I have a firm belief that Korea will ultimately become a power in the orient, however hopeless the prospect may be just as the present. All they need is men who will teach them and love them sincerely.

In overhauling a fabric several centuries old, the operators must understand the process of overhauling as well as repairing, at least repairing should begin as soon as overhauling commences. The present Korea is at the stage of simple overhauling and chaos reigns supreme everywhere. Under these circumstances the rulers as well as the people experience all sorts of discomfort and fatigue, and naturally on the part of the people distrust and suspicion exist toward their rulers. Without education the people will never understand the good intentions of the government, and without education the government officers will never make good laws. The law makers must know the fundamental principle of law in order to make good laws, and the people must understand what the laws are for, and appreciate the good of them; and then they will obey the laws the moment they go into effect.

My idea may seem ridiculous to some—the solving of such an urgent problem by gradual education of the people, whereas the condition of the country requires immediate relief. But the relief-work has not yet commenced so far as I can ascertain. There may be several methods of relief, but education is one of the most effective and permanent means. The government may change from time to time, and the political complexion of the country may alter according to the circumstances, but the people will be here always.

A hungry man will never get rich if he only sits around and complains of his hard lot, but he must go about and sow the seeds in some fertile soil, so that some day he may reap the harvest and enjoy the fruits of his labor. Education of Ko-

rean youth is the sowing of the seed. Korea may seem now helpless and hopeless, but everybody in the kingdom must realize the importance of education, and commence to educate the younger generation from this day on. I am positive that he will see the fruits of his labor much sooner than he expects. When this younger generation absorbs the new ideas and trains itself in Christian civilization, nobody knows what blessings are in store for Korea, and what blossoms may bloom in the national life of this now cheerless country.

It is sincerely hoped by all those who love Korea that the government will spend all its energy and effort to found schools of all kinds, especially of manual training. Industrial, agricultural and medical schools not only in Seoul, but in various districts throughout the kingdom, and compel the people to send their children to these institutions. After these children and youth graduate from the schools, the government must employ them according to their individual capacity. Before long the people will realize the profit of sending their children to school to be educated, and those educated young men will help their leaders in overhauling as well as reorganising all matters of national importance. Moreover, when they know how to make their living by the knowledge which they have acquired from these schools; they will naturally appreciate the efforts of the government and will coöperate with the government people in peace as well as in war. I, personally, would like to see the government budget show a larger item for educational purposes than any other item for the next ten years, also I appeal to those who love humanity that they will use their efforts for the education of these poor and down-trodden Koreans.

PHILIP JAISOHN, M. D.

REVIEW OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK.

AT the Editor's request, I submit a few comments on the recent translation of the Gospel of Mark. As suggested in the May REPOSITORY of 1895, the Revising Committee has been done away with. Since this makes the duty of revising the Scriptures as they are presented by the Board of Translators to rest on the whole missionary community, I venture some suggestions, after a very imperfect review of the work. A thorough revision would require almost as much labor as the original translation.

After several readings of this new version, I can express great pleasure with the work as a whole. While not free from many faults, yet, as the tentative work of an individual, it gives promise that the joint work of the Board will supply a long felt want. It is without doubt an improvement over all past translations of this gospel as we have a right to expect that it would be.

I congratulate the translator, (whoever he may be, for I have not the advantage of knowing) for many points of excellence, many more of which might be mentioned than I shall attempt to do. Of course translator, reviewer and reader all have one purpose, and I shall try to make my criticisms all serve that one purpose, — viz. the elimination of mistakes, that we may the sooner reach a perfect translation. It requires little knowledge and little skill to find fault, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that if my criticisms are false or worthless they will at least do no harm.

I can speak with undivided approval of the change of method in this version as to the translation of proper names. The wretched attempts made in many former books to transfer English or Greek sounds of proper names into Korean resulted in a confusion unintelligible to English, Greek or Korean alike. In this version uniformity with the Chinese Scriptures has been secured and great confusion avoided by spelling the proper names in the same way that a Korean would pronounce the characters for the name in the Chinese Scriptures. In my opinion the name of Jesus is properly an exception to this rule. That it is a natural instinct that the Sacred Name should be kept as nearly as possible to the original sound is shown by the fact that in our songs and speech 예수 has almost everywhere supplanted 야소.

The word baptism has also been translated instead of being lugged bodily over into Korean. In ordinary words there is no merit

whatever in a mere foreign sound and the disappearance of 밥례 래 from these pages with the substitution of 세례 is a most acceptable change. It is much to be regretted that the same rule has not been followed with the word for Sabbath Day, which appears everywhere as an undisguised foreigner, no more sacred and certainly much more unintelligible by being called 사밧날 instead of the plain Korean 안식일.

A few signs of a tendency to revert to a former type are found in the transliteration of one or two of the Aramaic expressions of Jesus, as in 15: 34. Another is found in 5: 9, in an attempt to translate "Legion" by 래기온, a very doubtful experiment.

Not the least among the improvements is a tendency to use a more simple Korean colloquial rather than merely the untranslated sounds of the Chinese characters, a method of translating very dear to the Korean teacher but useless as a means of conveying ideas to the average Korean. In this change the foreigner's influence is evident and also a proof that, with the passing years, he is gradually getting the use of the mother tongue of the people and more and more out from under the influence of a self-styled scholarship. There are still however too many Sinico-Korean words. The style would be more forcible were these replaced by simple, idiomatic, colloquial expressions.

I think I discover a tendency also to dispense with the hitherto inevitable verbal noun (名) and to substitute, occasionally, the clause 흔는 것 which is certainly an improvement.

I have not discovered in this version the use of the low form 네 in addresses to Jesus and to God. The abolition of the use of low talk to God is to be heartily commended.

Among misprints I call attention to chap. 5: 12; 9: 5, 40, 44, and 11: 8, 9. It is to be regretted that the book did not receive a more careful proof reading to correct the misprints and the bad spelling and to look after the duplicated and omitted syllables. In some words the type is bad as 우리 in Chap. 1: 36 and 네 in 3: 5. and 7: 5. If it can be hoped for with Korean workmen, a little more attention paid to inking would be a vast improvement.

The size of the type is probably as large as we can hope for. Yet should we not expect on behalf of all Koreans as well as foreigners that all the future editions of the gospels be printed with at least as good type as this, if not better? A recent copy of the last version of the gospel of Luke stirs me to a vigorous protest

against the possibility of any more gospels being given us in such crowded type. It will not do. The Koreans will not read it. The Scriptures are certainly worthy of as good a setting as we have found it necessary to give to our tracts in order to get a reading for them. The Bible Societies can certainly afford to give us the Gospels and Acts at least in readable form and make experiments later.

Should not the title of all of our books be written in Chinese as well as in the Umoun character?

Considerable independence, intentional and otherwise, has been shown in the spelling of words. Adverbs are spelled without uniformity, but in the majority of cases 히 is improperly replaced by 이 in such words as 만히, 갖가히, 종용히. It is greatly to be hoped that uniformity in spelling can be reached in all our books. And in some minor respects it is very much to be hoped that a reform may be made in what has often hitherto been called the standard way of spelling. The translator has taken a step in the right direction in spelling the accusative ending 를 according to the sound instead of the usual 를. In most points I agree with the standard or French method of spelling, but I find that there is no more frequent cause of blundering in reading than to spell words differently from their pronunciation, as 나를 for 나를, 잊스니 for 잊스니, 거슬 for 거슬, 아바지 for 아버지, &c. Some consensus of opinion should be reached if possible. [In this we heartily agree. Ed. K. R.]

Besides faults which a careful proof-reading might have removed, there are others of a more radical nature. I shall make bold to rush in with my criticism in some places where I am not prepared to suggest a better way.

Attempts have been made here and there to translate what the Korean language has no idiom to express, as in Chap 1: 2 and 2: 24 볼지어다,—13: 21, 보라. Even if it were admitted that this is good Korean, why the difference in the form?

Particles are used too freely, caused by an over-literalism. 대개 and 이에 become entirely too familiar, considering of how little use they often are for conveying thought.

One cannot read this book long without being unfavorably impressed with the frequent repetition of the ending 거늘. The ending 니 is often used where we would expect 라, as in 1: 1, 35. In the following places is it not necessary to make a change of endings? Chap. 1: 27, 높 for 떠, and 높 for 로다,—3: 26,

instead of **호기애니를지니** write **호리니**—6: 37, for **줄지니라** substitute **주라**,—9: 7, for **와** would write **와서**. 9: 12, for **흘거시여늘** write **나라**.

Of the noun endings I think that the genitive is too frequently used as in 1: 7, **그의신**. Plural endings are much too frequent, as in 1: 19, **그물들**, 5: 19, 20 **일들**, and words which the genius of the Korean language does not naturally pluralize. The use of too many plurals and the tendency to use pronouns wherever they are used in English, are examples of the too free use of foreign idiom. While on the whole the smoothness of the translation is much to be commended, the influence of foreign idiom is seen entirely too often extending even to the structure of the whole sentence. In such cases an entire recasting of the sentence will be necessary if the Korean idiom is to be attained.

Let me call attention to a number of infelicitous or questionable words. In 1: 12, **모라** for **저족**.—In 1: 21 and many other places, **서샤관** is given as the translation of the word scribe. The old familiar **선비** is much better. In 6: 30 the mistake is made of translating the word apostles by **예조** instead of **수도**. In 1: 3, **굽은길** is very questionable, as is also **일만복이여** in 11: 9 and 10, also **샤랑** instead of **직방** in 14: 14. In 9: 5, I see no reason for trying to retain the Hebrew sound which is there spelled **람비** simply because it has been retained in English. Better translate it. Does not **더러 온손** in 7: 2, 5, give a wrong impression? The hands were not dirty but only ceremonially unclean. In 7: 32 **혀오그러진** is questionable. In 12: 1, **산울** is a puzzle to the Koreans. In 1: 6, **들풀** would be better than **석청**.

What text of Scripture was followed in this translation? Evidence is found by comparing chap. 6: 12, 7: 22, 11: 16 and other passages that no one text was adhered to. Is it to be the policy of the Board that the text from which the Revised English Bible was translated is to be followed? In some of the suggestions given below of expressions which, for various reasons, need changes or recasting I have been more or less uncertain because I did not know the text followed by the translator. Please notice whether the following do not need changes. Mark 1: 3 change **호나의소리** to **호사름의소리**.—Chap. 1: 33, **온성이** to **온성사름이**.—Chap. 1: 4, **죄샤호는뉘웃**

쳐곳치는례 is questionable.—3: 19, 푸랏느니라 to 곤쟈라. 3: 22, 그가별셔복을집히고 to 그사름별셔복의붓흔바되어셔.—5: 19, 쥐 | to 쥐여셔.—6: 2, 그르치시기률시작하시니 to 그르치시니, and the same change in other places where 시작 is used in imitation of a foreign idiom.—6: 2, 무어시냐 to 엇더હ며,—6: 14, 파다훈지라 to 두루전파하니, and 권능을예수로 힝훈다 to 권능이그사름의께나타낸다,—6: 15, change 션지쟈 | 니션지중에하나와굿흔듯하다 to 션지쟈라하며후넷적션지중에하나와굿다,—6: 17, 장가들냐훔이라 to 장가드렁스매,—6: 42, 사를 가온되셔 to 사룸을,—6: 46, 후에괴도하러산으로 가시다 to 후에산에가서괴도하시더라,—7: 6, 입살노 to 입으로,—7: 10, 자는죽인다 to 자는반드시 죽이리라,—8: 2, 네이노니 to 네이이는거순,—8: 7, 뜨적은싱션두어마리가 to 뜨여간적은싱션이,—9: 1, 보기썩지죽음이업스리라 to 볼때서지죽지 아니하리라,—9: 3 and 5 need reconstruction.—9: 23, 네가잇으면 to 네가능히잇을수잇스면.—In 9: 42, 44 and 45 I think that 범죄 should certainly be replaced by 죄범,—10: 4 is a very questionable phrase. 11: 2, 암회뵈는마을 to 암촌,—12: 5, 종들을 to 종을, plurality being expressed by the context,—12: 12, 그저가기는 is very doubtful,—12: 19, Revise first part of sentence and omit 형이,—13: 14, 뵈터을일우게하눈위은물건이 is very bad, I suggest 망케하눈위은거시 which is not altogether unobjectionable either,—13: 25, 혼들이며 to 진동하며, a word expressing more terror,—13: 28, 빙호라 to 성각하라, and,—13: 32, 인조도도호 to 도호아들이라도. The word 인조 should be reserved as the official Messianic title of Christ and not used in places where Jesus is only speaking in his humility as a Son and a Servant, and,—14: 21, 푸는쟈의께는 to 푸는 자는 and 그사름이나지아니하엿더면도흘번흐엿다 to 그사름의께는나지아니하엿더면도핫겟다,—15: 2, 네가말하엿도다 to 네말이을다,—15:

30, 너를 to 스스로, - 16: 10, 흥에 허던 to 힘에 있던, - 10: 4, is a very questionable phrase for divorce. If it is retained I would insert 서로 before 떠나는.

It seems strange that where there is a good idiomatic expression almost identical in thought it should not have been used, as in 5: 26 where 흐름이 업고 would have been much better than 나음이 업고.

6: 20, 의잇고 올흔사를 to 올코거룩흔사를, - and 여러가지를 험 to 줄힐 흔거시만코, - 7: 11, 흐흔사를 to 흐사를, - and 드리랫던거슬각판흐 옛느이다하라 험 1번역 흐면하는 님에드렷습는 니다 흠이라 change to 맛당히드릴거슬각판이라 흐고 각판은 번역 흐면 곳하는 님에드리는 레물이라 는듯시라, - 7: 16, 뜻게 험 여라 to 맛당히드러라, - 13: 22, 유 흐 흐 게 흐면 곳 유 흐 흐 리니 to 능히 유 흐 흐 게 흘 수잇스면 곳 유 흐 식히리니, - 1: 20, 그들이 아버니 셔비래와 삭군들을 빼에 두고 to 그들이 빼에 셔 아버니 셔비래와 삭군들을 떠나 셔, - 1: 20, 가시니 곳 사방 날이라 to 가시매 예수에 셔 안식일에 곳 회당.

Examples of an over-literalism destroying the sense or making a foreign idiom are not infrequent.

The above are a few of the surface imperfections of this version. The chief faults, however, are more radical, extending to the structure of the sentences, many of which are cast on entirely too foreign a mould. The smoothness of the translation is sometimes interrupted by unexpected departures for which we see no warrant, as in Chap. 1: 24, which affords a singular instance of aberration, 슬프다 is given as the equivalent of "Let us alone" of the King James, version, a clause which is omitted from the Revised Version and had better be omitted here than inserted in such a way. While regretting that the book is marked by infelicities so that we cannot hope that it will take permanent place in Korean literature as a translation of the gospel of Mark, yet we hail it as a great improvement over former efforts to translate this gospel and a book which will be extremely useful in the Korean work.

WILLIAM M. BAIRD.

IN THE ORCHARD.

EXPERIENCE teaches that large, well flavored fruit in abundance, may be had only with exceptional care. Successful orchardists, ever watchful, are now among their trees, pruning them and fertilizing the soil around their roots. They tell us to prune for shapeliness in the trees, prune for light, and cut all sickly-looking and decaying wood away.

Rid the trees as far as practicable of all the results of last year's disease and insect ravages. Insects which prey upon foliage and fruit may now receive attention as well as later.

Several of the pests, as the plum curculio, winter in the leaves or rubbish around the trees. It will be well then to burn all this.

If lime (say) has not been freely used as a whitewash, to prevent the laying of insect eggs, scrape the trunk and large branches which often conceal hibernating eggs of destructive insects. Burn these scrapings also, and all prunings which will often contain wintering eggs of plant lice, apple and cherry aphides, &c.

The borer, the great apple-tree pest of Korea, should now receive special attention and be destroyed before it resumes its work in the early spring. Decaying wood resulting from old wounds should all be cut away.

Be the wound, whether in the stem or branch, exposed to the severe action of the elements, rain and frost especially, the loss of vitality will readily be discovered in the surrounding wood, after its exposure to months of wintery weather. If this wood be cut away, when the vitality of the tree is quickened by approaching spring, the healing will begin at once and continue right along, if the wound is protected from the weather, until only a scar remains.

If, last fall, after giving your trees a feed of bones, &c. you properly prepared them for winter, they now have a mulch of manure over their roots or a slight cone of earth around the stem. Level this earth, destroying all appearance of destructive insects therein and turn the mulching manure underneath the soil. A few days later, scatter wood ashes above the roots and turn them underneath the surface.

Inasmuch as our orchards have not had the benefit of snow or rain of any consequence during the past winter, it will be well to water the soil around the trees to accelerate chemical action therein, for the trees will get little or no food from the atmosphere until they have borne foliage to collect it.

Stir the soil over the roots well, once every few days, during the spring and summer, without disturbing the roots, and keep it in a moist condition by watering if it is not mulched.

Not only does a moderate quantity of water accelerate chemical action, in the soil, as said above, but it is the vehicle which bears nourishment to the roots from the soil above, and presents to them whatever nitrogen, in the form of ammonia, it may itself contain, and supplies the oxygen and hydrogen so necessary to sustain chemical action and produce digestible plant food.

Much here said applies to small fruits, especially grapes. But the latter need more careful and constant pruning as the vines grow so fast. I hear a friend say that he does not like to prune thro spring and summer, because the vines then bleed so badly. The pruning then done is generally from small branches which grow uselessly and sap the vitality of the plant, needed for its vigorous growth and fruit production. The sap lost by pruning would otherwise go into the useless growth, and is, the bleeding continuing only two or three days, a mere fraction of that lost to the productive part of the plant, if the prodigal branch is left to grow throughout the season.

March, 15th.

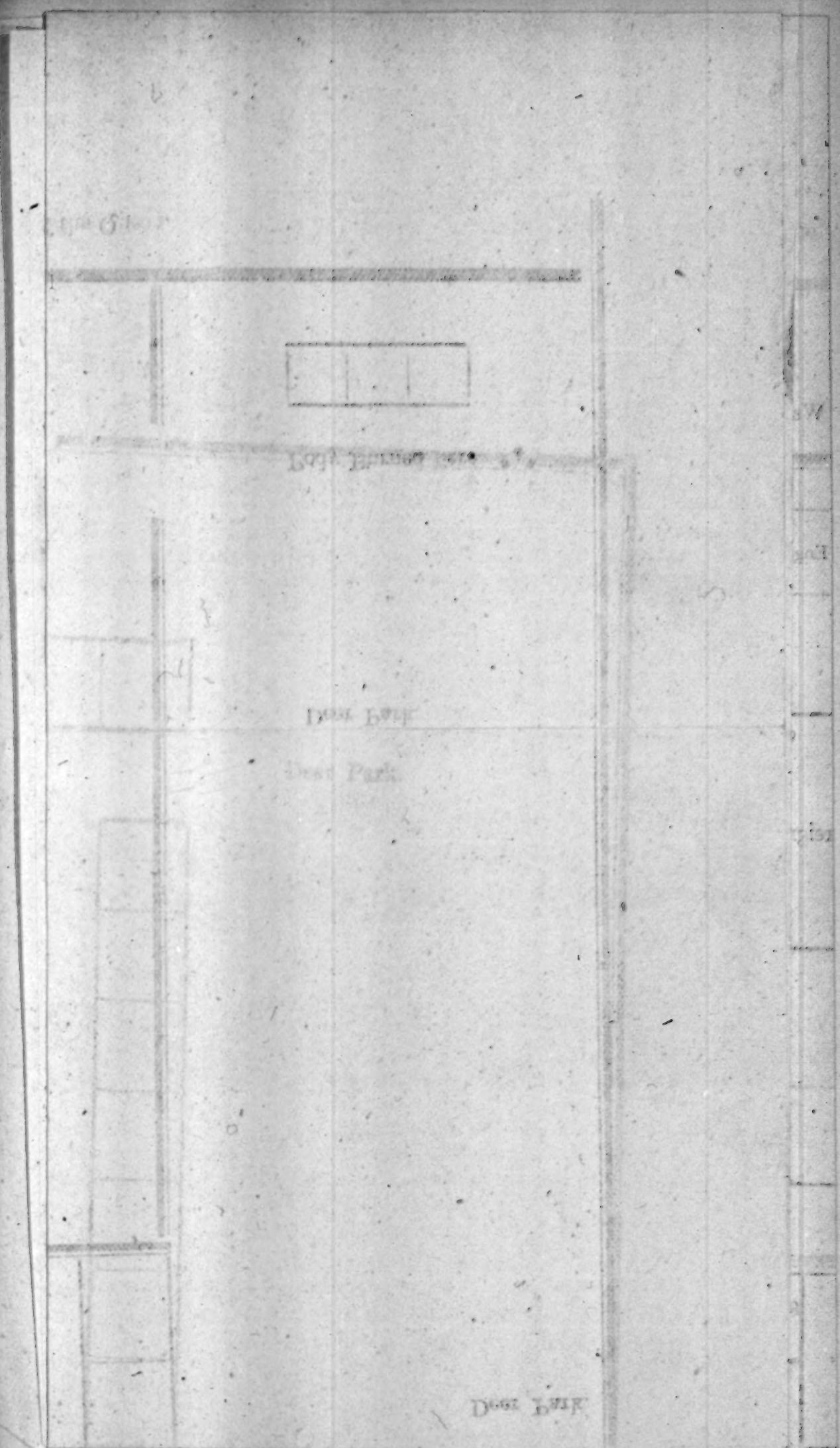
Wm. McE. DYE.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.**THE QUEEN'S DEATH AGAIN INVESTIGATED.**

OUR readers will be interested in the official report made by a Vice-Minister of Justice to Yi Po'n Chin, Minister of Law, which we print in full. As soon as the King was in a position where he could act with freedom, he ordered a thorough and impartial investigation to be made into the circumstances of the death of his Queen. Thirteen Koreans were arrested charged with participation in the crime and their trials are now in progress.

At the special request of His Majesty, his Foreign Adviser, C. R. Greathouse, attended the sessions of the Court, examined the witnesses and supervised the proceedings. The Court has been in session about fifteen days, a large number of witnesses have been examined and full access has been given to all official documents.

We believe, therefore, that this report, while at variance with the statements in the Judgments rendered by the Courts under the control of the late Cabinet and which were reproduced from the *Official Gazette* in the January issue of THE REPOSITORY, will be found reliable and that we have at last a faithful account of the circumstances under which the Queen of Korea died.



1893 BUREAU

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

1893 BUREAU

North of this Wall, which is 16 feet high,

Electric Engine Room, &c.

Library, &c.

The Foreign Palace.

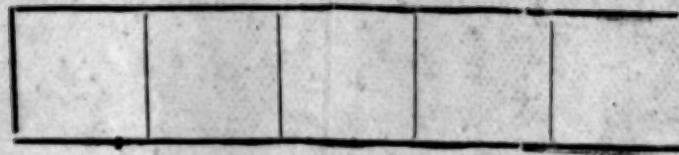
Reception
Hall.

Chang An Tang.

Entrance.

Passage

et high, is the Quagga or Examination Ground.



Deer Park.

* Where
King
stood

Queen
killed
here.

* Yi killed here on verandah.

under room into court-yard.

Passage

De

Various Buildings.

Entrance.

Summer House

Artificial Lake

This Diagram shows only that part of the Palace Buildings which

Deer

er House.

al Lake.

Deer Park.

Body Burned here

s which is referred to in connection with the Murder of the Queen.

On the 16th inst., under escort of General Hyen, Commander of the Palace Guards on the 8th of October and one of the few officers (as far as we know) besides Col. Hong, who did not doff his uniform and run, we were privileged to visit the house and rooms where the savage and horrible butchery of Her Majesty took place. The ground-plan of the buildings which we print was taken on the spot.

After a full survey of the grounds, the several gates thro which the assailants entered, and the rooms occupied by Their Majesties, it is difficult to see how the poor Queen could have escaped from the murderous band that rushed into and surrounded the building where she was. They hounded her into a small room sixteen feet long, eight feet wide and seven feet high and there killed her, as stated in the report.

To revert to the trials, Mr. Greathouse states to us that they have been fairly and carefully conducted and that no torture has been used. And we feel assured that so long as he is connected with the matter, this course will be continued. It appears to us, and we base our opinion on information furnished us by others in addition to that of Mr. Greathouse, that these trials have not only been free from the gross faults that frequently disfigure the proceedings of Eastern courts, but that for purity and honesty of procedure, for patient and thorough-going investigation, and for general approximation to Western notions of justice and integrity, they are in every way remarkable.

Official Report on Matters connected with the Events of October 8th, 1895, and the Death of the Queen.

HIS EXCELLENCY YI POM CHIN,
Minister of Law.

Your Excellency.

Having been ordered to examine and report respecting the attack on the Palace and the murder of Her Majesty the Queen and others on the 8th day of October last, as well as into the affairs connected therewith, I beg to say, That we have examined many witnesses and papers and have also partially tried a number of Koreans who are charged with participation in said affair. Each of these persons is being accorded a fair and full trial, and as soon as all the evidence is taken I will submit to you a full report in each case, but in the mean time, I have sufficient evidence to make this general report and in doing so will endeavour to state the facts as briefly as possible.

When, on July 23rd, 1894, and just before the commencement of the Japanese-Chinese war, the Korean Palace at Seoul was taken possession of and occupied by the Japanese troops under the orders of Mr. Otori, then the Japanese Minister accredited to the Korean Government, the extensive Korean soldier barracks situated at the corner of the streets near the front and principal gate of the Palace grounds and not more than thirty paces from the gate, were also taken possession of and occupied by Japanese troops.

Before this time these barracks, which in fact command the chief entrance to the Palace grounds (such grounds being surrounded by walls from fifteen to twenty-five feet high), had been used by the Korean Palace guard. In August, 1894, the Japanese troops were withdrawn from the Palace, but they continued to occupy these very important barracks and have continued so to do until the present time.

The Japanese Minister, Mr. Otori, was recalled and Count Inouye appointed in his place, and some time afterwards the latter was also recalled and Viscount Miura appointed Minister and he took official charge of the Japanese Legation in Seoul on September 3rd, 1895.

At no time had there been war between Korea and Japan, and indeed it was supposed that the relations between the two Governments were exceedingly amicable; the Japanese Ministers exercised much influence in Korean affairs and advised and brought about many changes in the Government and laws. A large number of Japanese instructors and advisers were employed and paid by the Korean Government, especially in the War Police and Law Departments.

After the attack on the Palace on October 8th last, when it was reported that the Japanese troops had led in this attack and that a numerous band of Japanese, usually called *Soshi*, had gone with them into the Palace and, under their protection and by their aid, murdered the Queen and burnt her body, Viscount Miura was recalled by the Japanese Government and he and Mr. Sugimura, Secretary of the Japanese Legation at Seoul, as well as more than forty other Japanese sent by the Japanese Government from Seoul to Japan, were arrested for participation in said affair and tried by the Japanese courts in Japan sitting at Hiroshima and duly acquitted and discharged as innocent of any crime.

The judgement of that court has been published; and as it states very many facts and as, in quoting it, I can not be said to misrepresent the facts if I adopt them from the judgement of the Japanese court, I here give a copy of that judgement in full.

"COPY OF THE DECISION OF THE JAPANESE COURT OF
PRELIMINARY INQUIRIES.

"Okamoto Ryunosuke, born the 8th month of the 5th year of *Kaei* (1852); Adviser to the Korean Departments of War and of the Household, *shizoku* of Usu, Saiga Mura, Umibe Gun, Wakayama Ken.

"Miura Goro, Viscount, Sho Sammi, First Class Order, Lieutenant-General (First Reserve), born 11th month 3rd year *Kokwa* (1846), *kwazoku* of Nakatomisaka Cho, Koishikawa ku, Tokyo Shi, Tokyo Fu.

"Sugimura Fukashi, Sho Rokui, First Secretary of Legation, born 1st month 1st year *Kaei* (1848), *heimin* of Suga Cho, Yotsuyaku, Tokyo Shi, Tokyo Fu, and forty-five others.

"Having, in compliance with the request of the Public Procurator, conducted preliminary examinations in the case of inurder and sedition brought against the above mentioned Okamoto Ryunosuke and forty-seven others, and that of willful homicide brought against the aforementioned Hirayama Iwao, we find as follows:—

"The accused, Miura Goro, assumed his official duties as His Imperial Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Seoul on the 1st of September, the 28th year of Meiji (1895). According to his observations, things in Korea were tending in a wrong direction. The Court was daily growing more and more arbitrary, and attempting wanton interference with the conduct of State affairs. Disorder and confusion were in this way introduced into the system of administration that had just been reorganized under the guidance and advice of the Imperial Government. The Court went so far in turning its back upon Japan that a project was mooted for disbanding the *Kunrentai* troops, drilled by Japanese officers, and punishing their officers. Moreover, a report came to the knowledge of the said Miura that the Court had under contemplation a scheme for usurping all political power by degrading some and killing others of the Cabinet Ministers suspected of devotion to the cause of progress and independence. Under these circumstances, he was greatly perturbed, inasmuch as he thought that the attitude assumed by the Court not only showed remarkable ingratitude towards this country, which had spent labour and money for the sake of Korea, but was also calculated to thwart the work of internal reform and jeopardize the independence of the Kingdom. The policy pursued by the Court was consequently considered to be injurious to Korea, as well as prejudicial, in no small degree, to the interests of this country. The accused felt it to be of urgent importance to apply an effective remedy to this state of affairs, so as on the one hand to secure the independence of the Korean Kingdom, and on the other, to maintain the prestige of this Empire in that country. While thoughts like these agitated his mind, he was secretly approached by the Tai Won-kun with a request for assistance, the Prince being indignant at the untoward turn that events were taking and having determined to undertake the reform of the Court and thus discharge his duty of advising the King. The accused then held at the Legation a conference with Sugimura Fukashi and Okamoto Ryunosuke, on the 3rd of Oct. last. The decision arrived at on that occasion was that assistance should be rendered to the Tai Won-kun's entry into the Palace by making use of the *Kunrentai* who, being hated by the Court, felt themselves in danger, and of the young men who deeply lamented the course of events, and also by causing the Japanese troops stationed in Seoul to offer their support to the enterprise. It was further resolved that this opportunity should be availed of for taking the life of the Queen, who exercised overwhelming influence in the Court. They at the same time thought it necessary to provide against the possible danger of the Tai Won-kun's interfering with the conduct of State affairs in

the future—an interference that might prove of a more evil character than that which it was now sought to overturn. To this end, a document containing pledges required of the Tai Won-kun on four points was drawn by Sugimura Fukashi. The document was carried to the country residence of the Tai Won-kun at Kong-tok-ri on the 15th of the month by Okamoto Ryunosuke, the latter being on intimate terms with His Highness. After informing the Tai Won-kun that the turn of events demanded His Highness's intervention once more, Okamoto presented the document to the Prince, saying that it embodied what Minister Miura expected from him. The Tai Won-kun, together with his son and grandson, gladly assented to the conditions proposed and also wrote a letter guaranteeing his good faith. Miura Goro and others decided to carry out the concerted plan by the middle of the month. Fearing lest Okamoto's visit to Kong-tok-ri (the Tai Won-kun's residence) should excite suspicion and lead to the exposure of their plan, it was given out that he had proceeded thither simply for the purpose of taking leave of the Prince before departing for home, and to impart an appearance of probability to this report, it was decided that Okamoto should leave Seoul for Ninsen (Inchhon), and he took his departure from the capital on the 6th. On the following day, An Keju, the Korean Minister of State for War, visited the Japanese Legation by order of the Court. Referring to the projected disbanding of the *Kunrentai* troops, he asked the Japanese Minister's views on the subject. It was now evident that the moment had arrived, and that no more delay should be made. Miura Goro and Sugimura Fukashi consequently determined to carry out the plot on the night of that very day. On the one hand, a telegram was sent to Okamoto requesting him to come back to Seoul at once, and on the other, they delivered to Horiguchi Kumaichi a paper containing a detailed programme concerning the entry of the Tai Won-kun into the Palace, and caused him to meet Okamoto at Yong-san so that they might proceed to enter the Palace. Miura Goro further issued instructions to Umayabara Muhon, Commander of the Japanese Battalion in Seoul, ordering him to facilitate the Tai Won-kun's entry into the Palace by directing the disposition of the *Kunrentai* troops, and by calling out the Imperial force for their support. Miura also summoned the accused Adachi Kenzo and Kunitomo Shigekira, and requested them to collect their friends, meeting Okamoto at Yongsan, and act as the Tai Won-kun's bodyguard on the occasion of His Highness's entrance into the Palace. Miura told them that on the success of the enterprise depended the eradication of the evils that had done so much mischief to the Kingdom for the past twenty years, and instigated them to dispatch the Queen when they entered the Palace. Miura ordered the accused Ogiwara Hidejiro to proceed to Yongsan, at the head of the police force under him, and after consultation with Okamoto, to take such steps as might be necessary to expedite the Tai Won-kun's entry into the Palace.

"The accused, Sugimura Fukashi, summoned Suzuki Shigemoto and Asayama Kenzo to the Legation, and after acquainting them with the projected enterprise, directed the former to send the accused, Suzuki Junken, to Yongsan to act as interpreter, and the latter to carry the news to a Korean named Li Shukwei, who was known to be a warm advocate of the Tai Won-kun's return to the Palace. Sugimura further drew up a manifesto, explaining the reasons of the Tai Won-kun's entry into the Palace, and charged Ogiwara Hidejiro to deliver it to Horiguchi Kumaichi.

"The accused Horiguchi Kumaichi at once departed for Yongsan on horseback. Ogiwara Hidejiro issued orders to the policemen that were off duty to put on civilian dress, provide themselves with swords and proceed to Yongsan. Ogiwara himself also went to the same place.

"Thither also, repaired by his order, the accused Watanabe Takajiro, Nariai Kishiro, Oda Yoshimitsu, Kiwaki Sukunori and Sakai Masataro.

"The accused Yokowo Yutaro joined the party at Yongsan. Asayama Kenzo saw Li Shukwei, and informed him of the projected enterprise against the Palace that night. Having ascertained that Li had then collected a few other Koreans and proceeded toward Kong-tok-ri, Asama at once left for Yongsan. Suzuki Shigemoto went to Yongsan in company with Suzuki Junken. The accused Adachi Kenzo and Kunitomo Shigeakira, at the instigation of Miura, decided to murder the Queen, and took steps for collecting accomplices. The accused Hirayama Iwabiko, Sassa Masayuki, Matsumura Tatsuki, Sasaki Tadasu, Ushijima Hidewo, Kobayakawa Hidewo, Miyazumi Yuki, Sato Keita, Sawamura Masao, Katano Takewo, Fuji Masashira, Hirata Shizen, Kikuchi Kenjo, Yoshida Tomokichi, Nakamura Takewo, Namba Harukichi, Terasaki Taikichi, Iyuri Kakichi, Tanaka Kendo, Kumabe Yonekichi, Tsukinari Taru, Yamada Ressei, Sase Kumatetsu, and Shibuya Kotoji responded to the call of Asashi Kenjo and Kunitomo Shigeakira, by Miura's order to act as bodyguard to the Tai Won-kun on the occasion of his entry into the Palace. Hirayama Iwahiko and more than ten others were directed by Adachi Kenzo, Kunitomo Shigeakira and others to do away with the Queen, and they resolved to follow the advice. The others, who were not admitted into this secret but who joined the party from mere curiosity also carried weapons. With the exception of Kunitomo Shigeakira, Tsukinori Toru, and two others, all the accused mentioned above went to Yongsan in company with Adachi Kenzo.

"The accused Okamoto Ryunosuke, on receipt of a telegram saying that time was urgent, at once left Ninsen for Seoul. Being informed on his way, at about midnight, that Hoshiguchi Kennaichi was waiting for him at Mapho, he proceeded thither and met the persons assembled there. There he received one from Horiguchi Kumaichi a letter from Miura Goro, the draft manifesto already alluded to, and other documents. After he had consulted with two or three others about the method of effecting an entry into the Palace, the whole party started for Kong-tok-ri, with Okamoto as their leader. At about 3 a.m on the 8th, they left Kong-tok-ri, escorting the Tai Won-kun's palanquin, together with Li Shukwei and other Koreans. When on the point of departure, Okamoto assembled the whole party outside the front gate of the Prince's residence, declared that on entering the Palace the "fox" should be dealt with according as exigency might require, the obvious purport of this declaration being to instigate his followers to murder Her Majesty the Queen. As the result of this declaration, Sakai Masataro and a few others, who had not yet been initiated into the secret, resolved to act in accordance with the suggestion. Then slowly proceeding toward Seoul, the party met the *Kunrentai* troops outside the West Gate of the capital where they waited some time for the arrival of the Japanese troops. With the *Kunrentai* as vanguard, the party then proceeded toward the Palace at a more rapid rate. On the way, they were joined by Kunitomo Shigeakira, Tsukinari Teru, Yamada Ressei, Sase Kumatetsu, and Shibuya Katoji. The accused Hasumoto, Yasumaru and Oura Shigehiko, also joined the party, having been requested by Umagabara Muhon to accompany as interpreters the military officers charged with the supervision of the *Kunrentai* troops. About dawn, the whole party entered the Palace thro the Kwang-hwa Gate, and at once proceeded to the inner chambers.

"Notwithstanding these facts there is no sufficient evidence to prove that any of the accused actually committed the crime originally meditated by them. Neither is there sufficient evidence to establish the charge that Hirayama Iwahiko killed Li Koshoku, the Korean Minister of the Household, in front of the Kön-Chhöng Palace.

"As to the accused Shiba Shiro, Osaki Masakichi, Yoshida Hanji, Mayeda Shunzo, Hirayama Katsukuma, and Hiraishi Yoshitaro, there is not

sufficient evidence to show that they were in any way connected with the affair.

"For these reasons the accused, each and all, are hereby discharged in accordance with the provisions of Article 165 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The accused Miura Goro, Sugimura Fukashi, Okamoto Ryunosuke, Adachi Kenzo, Kunitomo Shigeakira, Terasaki Taikichi, Hirayama Iwahiko, Nakamura Tatowo, Fuji Masaakira, Iyuri Kakichi, Kiwaki Sukenori and Sokoi Masutaro are hereby released from confinement. The documents and other articles seized in connection with this case are restored to their respective owners.

"Given at the Hiroshima Local Court by

"YOSHIDA YOSHIHIDE,

"Judge of Preliminary Inquiry.

"TAMURA YOSHIHARU,

"Clerk of the Court.

"Dated 20th day of the 1st month of the 29th year of Meiji.

"This copy has been taken from the original text. Clerk of the Local Court of Hiroshima."

It will be noticed that the judgement of the Japanese Hiroshima Court, after stating that "about dawn the whole party" (viz., Japanese soldiers, *soshi* and others) "entered the Palace thro the Kwang Hwa Gate," (the front gate which we mentioned above) "*and at once proceeded to the inner chambers,*" stops abruptly in its statement of facts, but says, "Notwithstanding these facts there is no sufficient evidence to prove that any of the accused actually committed the crime originally meditated by them."

It now becomes my unpleasant duty to supply some facts and to report what was done by "this party" when they arrived at the "inner chambers" of the Palace.

The grounds of the Royal Palace are spacious, comprising many acres surrounded, as I have said, by high walls. There are many detached and different buildings within these outer walls, and in most cases these buildings are surrounded by lower walls with strongly barred gates. The building occupied by Their Majesties, the King and Queen, on this eventful morning, has a narrow court-yard in front and is about a quarter of a mile from the front gate.

The Japanese soldiers, entering at this front gate, proceeded rapidly to this building, and to other points of the Palace grounds meeting on the way some of the Korean soldiers who composed the Palace guard, and here some of these latter were killed. They made, however, an ineffectual resistance and the Japanese soldiers went on.

When the Japanese arrived at the building occupied by Their Majesties, some of them formed in military order, under command of their officers, around the small court-yard and only a few paces from the building itself and also guarded the gates

of the court-yard and thus protected the *soshi* and other Japanese who had come with them in their awful work of searching for and killing Her Majesty the Queen.

These Japanese *soshi*, numbering thirty or more, under the leadership of a head Japanese, rushed with drawn swords into the building, searching the private rooms, seizing all the Palace women they could catch, dragging them round by the hair and beating them and demanding where the Queen was. This was seen by many, including Mr. Sabatin, a foreigner connected with His Majesty's guard, who was in this court-yard for a short time. He saw the Japanese officers in the court-yard in command of the Japanese troops, saw the outrages committed on the Korean court ladies and was himself asked often by the Japanese where the Queen was and was threatened and put in danger of his life because he would not tell.

His statement shows conclusively that officers of the Japanese troops were in the court-yard and knew all that was being done by the Japanese *soshi*, and that Japanese soldiers were surrounding the court-yard and in fact guarding the court-yard gates while the *soshi* were doing their murderous work.

After searching the various rooms, the *soshi* found the Queen in one of the side rooms where she was attempting to hide, and catching hold of her cut her down with their swords.

It is not certain whether, although so grievously wounded, she was then actually dead; but she was laid upon a plank, wrapped up with a silk comfort (used as bed-clothing) and taken out into the court-yard. Very soon afterwards, under the direction of the Japanese *soshi*, the body was taken from the court-yard to a grove of trees not far distant, in the deer park, and there kerosene oil was poured over the body and faggots of wood piled around and all set on fire.

It appears from the evidence that only a few bones remained unconsumed. It also appears that these Japanese *soshi* who had been charged with the horrible duty of murdering Her Majesty the Queen, in order to make sure that they had done their work as ordered, took several of the women of the Court to the body and compelled them to identify it as that of Her Majesty. It also appears that every precaution had been taken by the Japanese and the Korean traitors who were assisting them, to prevent Her Majesty the Queen from escaping.

It was thus that our beloved and venerated Queen of Korea and mother of His Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, was cruelly assassinated and her body burned to destroy the evidence of the crime.

After the Korean Household Guard had been dispersed and

the Japanese had arrived in the court-yard and were entering the building. His Majesty, hoping to divert their attention and to enable Her Majesty to hide or flee away, if possible, came from the inner rooms of the building to a front room which had large doors opening out upon the court-yard and stood where he could be plainly seen by the Japanese. Many of the Japanese *soshi* rushed into the room brandishing their swords, and other Japanese also came in and passed into the other rooms—some of them being officers of the Japanese army in uniform. A servant standing by His Majesty announced from time to time that this was His Majesty, but, notwithstanding that, His Majesty was subjected to many indignities. One of the Japanese caught him by the shoulder and pulled him a little distance, pistols were also fired in the room close to him; some of the Palace ladies were beaten and pulled about and dragged by the hair in his presence and Yi Kiung Chik* (of noble blood and then Minister of the Royal Household), who had been attacked and badly wounded in another room, but who managed to crawl along the verandah, was followed and killed with swords by the Japanese in His Majesty's presence.

His Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, who was in one of the inner rooms, was seized, his hat torn off and broken, and he was pulled about by the hair and otherwise maltreated; the Japanese doing this at the same time demanded of him where the Queen was and threatened him with their swords; but he managed to get into the front room where His Majesty was without serious injury, and remained with him.

The part taken by Koreans in this business will be mentioned later in this report.

Before daybreak of October 8th, His Majesty, having heard that additional Japanese troops had just been marched into the barracks at the front gate, and some other alarming rumors, sent a messenger to Viscount Miura to inquire into the matter.

Although the messenger arrived at this very early hour, he found Viscount Miura, his secretary, Mr. Sugimura, and an interpreter who spoke Korean, fully dressed and also three chairs waiting at the door.

Viscount Miura told him that he had heard from a Japanese colonel that additional troops had been marched into the barracks, but that he (Miura) did not know why this was done. While they were talking, firing was heard from the direction of the Palace and Miura told the messenger to return at once and he would go to the Palace immediately.

* Called in the judgement of the Japanese Court, Li Kosoku.

Viscount Miura, Mr. Sugimura and their interpreter soon proceeded to the Palace. On their arrival the Japanese were still in the Palace grounds on guard and most, if not all, the *soshi* and others who had murdered the Queen were still there; but after Viscount Miura's arrival no more murders or outrages were committed, and soon the Japanese *soshi* dispersed. On his arrival at the Palace, he sought and obtained an audience with His Majesty who, for that purpose, had left the room where he had been standing, as detailed above, during the terrible troubles and had gone to the adjoining building called Chang An Tang.

At this audience, not only Mr. Sugimura and the interpreter accompanied Viscount Miura and were present, but also a certain Japanese who had come to the Palace with the *soshi* and had apparently been their leader and had been seen by His Majesty as an active participant in their work. The Tai Won-kun, who had come to the Palace with the Japanese troops, was also present. Here, at this audience, three documents were prepared by those present and presented to His Majesty for signature, one of them being, in substance, that the Cabinet should thereafter manage the affairs of the country; another, appointing Prince Yi Chai Miun, who had accompanied the Tai Won-kun on his entrance into the Palace, Minister of the Royal Household in place of Yi, who had been killed scarcely more than an hour before, and the other appointing a Vice-Minister of the Royal Household.

His Majesty signed all these documents.

The Japanese troops were then withdrawn from the Palace, and Korean soldiers (*i.e.*, troops drilled by Japanese instructors and generally known as *Kunrentai*) were left on guard.

Later in the day, the Ministers of the War and Police Departments were dismissed, and Cho Hui Yen was made Minister of War and Acting-Minister of Police, and, on the 10th, Kwan Yung Chin was made full Minister of Police. Both of these men were and are supposed to be privy to the plot to attack the Palace, and both were recently denounced (on Feb. 11th) by the Proclamation of His Majesty and have fled to parts unknown. In this way, all the armed forces of the Korean Government, and even the personal attendants of His Majesty, were put under the control and orders of officials who had been more or less connected with the attack on the Palace.

Within an hour or two after Viscount Miura's audience, and while he still remained in a building near the audience chamber, His Excellency Mr. Waeber, Russian *Charge d'Affaires* and Dr. Allen, *Charge d'Affaires (ad interim)* of the United States, came

to the Palace and saw Yi Chai Miun, the recently appointed Minister of the Royal Household, who informed them that His Majesty was very much excited and could not receive them. Mr Waeber called attention to the fact that the Japanese Minister's chair was in front of the audience chamber, and that he knew no reason why the Representatives of the United States and Russia should not also be given an audience. The Minister of the Royal Household retired from the waiting room, went away to consult, and, after some delay, came back and said that an audience would be given to the Representatives of these two countries. At the audience, His Majesty, who had not then been apprised of the killing of the Queen, said he understood that an attempt had been made to capture and harm the Queen, but that he still had hopes that she had escaped and at the same time asked the friendly offices of these Representatives to prevent any further violence or outrage.

Later in the day Representatives of other Powers went to the Palace and were received in audience by His Majesty.

At first it was evidently the intention of those who were privy to the plot to throw the whole blame of the attack on the Palace and the outrages committed there, upon the Koreans and entirely to exonerate the Japanese from any participation therein, except to state that they had gone in after the disturbances had commenced and had suppressed them. In an official dispatch from Viscount Miura to the Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated October 9th, after stating that early on the morning of the 8th a messenger from His Majesty had come to the Legation requesting him to proceed to the Palace to maintain order, the Viscount says, among other things—

"On receiving the message I promptly proceeded thither, but our garrison [Japanese troops] had already gone to suppress the disturbance, with the result that quiet was at once restored.

"I gathered that the origin of the *émeute* was a conflict between the drilled [Korean] troops, who desired to lay a complaint in the Palace, and the guards and police who prevented their entrance."

The next day Viscount Miura addressed another dispatch to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, of which the following is a full copy.

TRANSLATION.

"October 10th, 1895.

"Sir.—I have earlier done myself the honour to acknowledge receipt of your despatch explaining the origin of the military *émeute* of the day before yesterday. There has, however, been abroad of late a story that when at

daybreak on the 8th inst., the drilled troops made their sudden entrance into the Palace to state their grievances, a number of Japanese in plain clothes were observed to be mingled with them and to be taking part in the riotous proceedings within the Palace. I am aware that this story is a fabrication based on hearsay and unworthy of credence; but as the matter is of considerable importance I cannot pass it altogether by. Your Excellency will, I presume, by now have ascertained the true facts of the late military émeute. I am therefore doing myself the honour to request that you will be good enough to determine whether the story in question is or is not correct, and to favour me with a speedy reply.

"I have, &c.,"

Signature and Seal of Viscount Miura.

Two days later the Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs, in answer to the above despatch of Viscount Miura, replied as follows:—

TRANSLATION.

"October 12th, 1895.

"Sir.—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's despatch (here quotes the foregoing).

"I communicated the matter to the Minister for War in order that he might institute a thorough enquiry into all the circumstances. I am now in receipt of his reply, which is to the following effect:—

"The battalion reports that when at dawn on the day in question they were about to proceed and complain they were apprehensive that if they met with the guards, in the flurry and impossibility of discriminating, there was every chance of a collision. So they dressed themselves out in foreign clothes, in the hope of avoiding anything so disastrous as having to cross swords. They made their leading men imitate the Japanese civilian dress, with the idea of letting it appear that they were not soldiery; but as a matter of fact not a single Japanese was present.

"That the battalion, fearing lest there should be a collision, temporarily adopted this expedient is an absolute fact. In communicating the circumstance to you I have the honour to request that you will favour me with an acknowledgment."

"I replied to the Minister of War as he desired, and I now beg to request the same honour from Your Excellency.

"I have, &c.,"

(Seal.)

It will be noticed that the statements of the Foreign Minister are based upon the report of Cho Hui Yen, the Minister of War, who had been appointed, as I have said, the day Her Majesty was murdered, and his readiness to furnish an official report for Viscount Miura's use, so utterly variant from the actual facts and so damaging to his own Korean troops and so completely exonerating the Japanese from any connection with the business, clearly shows his complicity and the part he had taken and was willing to take in the conspiracy. The judgement of the Hiroshima Japanese Court, quoted above, distinctly states that Viscount Miura

"held at the Legation a conference with Sugimura Fukashi and Okamoto

Ryunosuke, on the 3rd of October last. The decision arrived at on that occasion was that assistance should be rendered to the Tai Won-kun's entry into the Palace by making use of the *Kunrentai* who, being hated by the Court, felt themselves in danger, and of the young men who deeply lamented the course of events, and also by causing the Japanese troops stationed in Seoul to offer their support to the enterprise. It was further resolved that this opportunity should be availed of for taking the life of the Queen, who exercised overwhelming influence in the Court."

The judgement further states that Viscount Miura, on the 7th of October,

"further issued instructions to Umayabara Muhon, Commander of the Japanese Battalion in Secul, ordering him to facilitate the Tai Won-kun's entry into the Palace by directing the disposition of the *Kunrentai* troops, and by calling out the Imperial force for their support. Miura also summoned the accused Adachi Kenzo and Kunitomo Shigeakira, and requested them to collect their friends, meeting Okamoto at Yongsan, and act as the Tai Won-kun's bodyguard on the occasion of His Highness's entrance into the Palace. Miura told them that on the success of the enterprise depended the eradication of the evils that had done so much mischief to the Kingdom for the past twenty years, and instigated them to despatch the Queen when they entered the Palace. Miura ordered the accused Ogiwara Hidejiro to proceed to Yongsan, at the head of the police force under him, and after consultation with Okamoto, to take such steps as might be necessary to expedite the Tai Won-kun's entry into the Palace."

The judgement also shows that the whole party, Japanese troops, *soshi* and others, went into the Palace grounds about dawn and proceeded to the inner chambers, and yet the Korean Minister of War says "that as a matter of fact not a single Japanese was present at the disturbance"!

It is not known what use Viscount Miura made of this correspondence, but its purpose is evident.

As a part of the history of the events, I give below extracts from a despatch sent by Count Inouye to his Government while he was the Minister at Seoul. These extracts were recently read in the Japanese Parliament and published in the newspapers. Count Inouye, referring to an interview with the Queen, says:—

"On one occasion, the Queen observed to me:—During the disturbance in the Royal Palace last year the Japanese troops unexpectedly escorted to the Palace the Tai Won-kun, who regarded Japan from the first as his enemy. He resumed the control of the Government, the King becoming only a nominal ruler. In a short time, however, the Tai Won-kun had to resign the reins of government to the King through your influence, and so things were restored to their former state. The new Cabinet, subsequently framed rules and regulations, making its power despotic. The King was a mere tool, approving all matters submitted by the Cabinet. It is a matter of extreme regret to me (the Queen) that the overtures made by me towards Japan were rejected. The Tai Won-kun, on the other hand, (who showed his unfriendliness towards Japan) was assisted by the Japanese Minister to rise in power. * * * I [Count Inouye] gave as far as I could an explanation of

these things to the Queen, and after so allaying her suspicions, I further explained that it was the true and sincere desire of the Emperor and Government of Japan to place the independence of Korea on a firm basis and in the meantime to strengthen the Royal House of Korea. *In the event of any member of the Royal family, or indeed any Korean, therefore, attempting treason against the Royal House, I gave the assurance that the Japanese Government would not fail to protect the Royal House even by force of arms and so secure the safety of the Kingdom.* These remarks of mine seemed to have moved the King and Queen, and their anxiety for the future appeared to be much relieved."

This audience took place not long before Count Inouye was relieved by Viscount Miura, which was little more than a month before Her Majesty was murdered. Their Majesties had a right to rely upon these unequivocal assurances, made, in the name of the Emperor and Government of Japan, by the Minister, one of the most eminent and distinguished statesmen of Japan, whose record thro a long series of years inspires confidence and respect, and no doubt Their Majesties, relying on these assurances, failed to take precautions which otherwise would have been adopted.

How completely Viscount Miura departed from the policy and failed to keep the promises of his eminent predecessor fully appears from the Hiroshima judgement. There can be no doubt that Count Inouye's despatch containing the assurance made to Their Majesties was on file in the Japanese Legation at Seoul and had been read by Viscount Miura.

As was seen above, the people in the Palace were alarmed and had notice that unusual occurrences were taking place some time before the attack was made. Chung Pyung Ha, then Vice-Minister of Agriculture and a man whom Their Majesties had raised from a comparatively humble position and loaded with favors, and in whom they had the greatest confidence, was in the Palace during the night of the 7th and the morning of the 8th of October. We have much evidence now, however, that he was then a traitor and engaged in the conspiracy and that he had gone to the Palace for the purpose of watching Her Majesty and preventing her from escaping. It appears from the evidence that, after the alarm had been given and before any entrance to the Palace had been made, he went to Her Majesty and assured her that he knew something of what was going on, that Japanese troops were coming into the Palace, but that they would protect her and she need fear no harm. He advised her not to hide, and kept himself constantly informed of all her movements. It is fair to infer that Her Majesty, having the assurances above mentioned of such a distinguished and honest official as Count Inouye listened all the

more readily to this traitorous advice of Chung Pyung Ha and made no effort to escape when she could probably have done so. Unfortunately she remained in the building until it was surrounded and all egress effectually barred. Chung Pyung Ha was arrested on the 11th of February, but was killed during the tumult of that day.

As soon, on the morning of the 8th, as His Majesty was induced to sign a decree transferring the business of the nation to the Cabinet, that Cabinet managed everything, and it is certain that at least for a time Viscount Miura was apprised of all they were doing and influenced their action. On October 11th there was published in the *Official Gazette* a so-called Royal Edict with respect to Her Majesty the Queen, of which the following is a copy.

It is now thirty-two years since We ascended the throne, but Our ruling influence has not extended wide. The Queen Min introduced her relatives to the court and placed them about Our person, whereby she made dull Our senses, exposed the people to extortion, put Our Government in disorder, selling offices and titles. Hence tyranny prevailed all over the country and robbers arose in all quarters. Under these circumstances the foundation of Our dynasty was in imminent peril. We knew the extreme of her wickedness, but could not dismiss and punish her because of helplessness and fear of her party.

We desire to stop and suppress her influence. In the twelfth moon of last year we took an oath at Our Ancestral Shrine that the Queen and her relatives and Ours should never again be allowed to interfere in State affairs. We hoped this would lead the Min faction to mend their ways. But the Queen did not give up her wickedness, but with her party aided a crowd of low fellows to rise up about Us and so managed as to prevent the Ministers of State from consulting Us. Moreover they have forged Our signature to a decree to disband Our loyal soldiers, thereby instigating and raising a disturbance, and when it occurred she escaped as in the Im O year. We have endeavored to discover her whereabouts, but as she does not come forth and appear We are convinced that she is not only unfitted and unworthy of the Queen's rank, but also that her guilt is excessive and brimfull. Therefore with her We may not succeed to the glory of the Royal Ancestry. So We hereby depose her from the rank of Queen and reduce her to the level of the lowest class.

Signed by

YI CHAI MYON, Minister of the Royal Household.

KIM HONG CHIP, Prime Minister.

KIM YUN SIK, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

PAK CHONG YANG, Minister of Home Affairs.

SHIM SANG HUN, Minister of Finance.

CHO HEUI YON, Minister of War.

SO KWANG POM, Minister of Justice.

SO KWANG POM, Minister of Education.

CHONG PYONG HA, Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

It grieves me to have even to mention this infamous mat-

ter, but a report upon the case would be incomplete without it. That Edict was fraudulent; no one has ever supposed that it came from His Majesty. It purports to have been signed by all the Ministers, when, in point of fact, Shim Sang Hun, Minister of Finance, had left the Cabinet, was a fugitive from Seoul and knew nothing about it, and Pak Chong Yang, Minister for Home Affairs, refused to have anything to do with the nefarious business, never signed the Edict but resigned his office.

The fact that such an edict was issued shows what extraordinary and wicked measures the controlling members of the Cabinet were prepared to force and carry out and also to what extreme lengths they were willing to go in throwing obloquy upon their great and good Queen and in misstating the facts as to her cruel fate.

After falsely accusing her of many crimes and declaring that she had forged His Majesty's signature to a decree disbanding the loyal soldiers, "thereby instigating and raising a disturbance," they say that she "escaped" (as upon a former occasion), that they have endeavored to discover her whereabouts, but "as she does not come forth and appear," they "are convinced that she is not only unfitted and unworthy of the Queen's rank, but also that her guilt is excessive and brimfull." For these reasons she was deposed from the rank of Queen and reduced "to the level of the lowest class." And yet these people knew full well that so far from escaping she had been foully murdered and so far from wilfully keeping out of the way her body had been actually burned.

On the 11th, the Cabinet caused an official letter to be sent to all the Foreign Representatives resident in Seoul in which a copy of this edict was set forth in full and in addition the statement "that His Majesty had decided to take the steps mentioned in that decree purely for regard for his royal line and the well-being of his people."

On the next day, in answer to this Circular letter, Viscount Miura made to the Korean Foreign Office the following reply—

TRANSLATION.

October 12th, 1895.

SIR.—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's communication N. 21 of the 11th inst., informing me that His Majesty had been obliged to degrade the Queen Min Yi to the level of the lowest caste on account of her failure to perform her exalted duties.

This intelligence has profoundly shocked and distressed me. I am aware that the August determination of His Majesty has proceeded from a thoughtful regard for his Royal line and the wellbeing of his people: Still in so unfortunate an event I cannot refrain from expressing my sympathy and sorrow for Your Excellency's country.

I have reported by telegraph the news to my government and have the honour to be, &c.,

(SEAL)

Dr. Allen, the Representative of the United States, replied in a single sentence,

"I cannot recognise this decree as coming from His Majesty;"

and all the other Foreign Representatives, with one exception, wrote to the Foreign Minister in substantially identical terms.

Some ten days later, when the Japanese Government was fully apprised of the events of 8th October, it recalled its representative, Viscount Miura, Mr. Sugimura, Secretary of Legation, several military officers and many others, who, on their arrival in Japan were arrested and charged with complicity in said affairs, as is shown above. Two of the Korean military officers fled, but the Cabinet continued to transact the business of the nation and to deprive His Majesty of all control.

Many decrees were promulgated and measures taken or proposed which caused great dissatisfaction. Although all classes of the Koreans—and all the Foreign Representatives in explicit despatches—were demanding that the occurrences of the 8th should be investigated and the murderers of the Queen brought to trial, nothing was done but the fiction was still kept up that she had escaped and was in hiding. The position became so strained that, even to the Cabinet, it was manifest that something must be done, and accordingly, on the 26th of November, 1895, the Foreign Representatives and many other foreigners and others were asked to go to the Palace, and it was announced in the presence of His Majesty that Cho Hui Yen, Minister of War, and Kwan, Minister of Police, were dismissed; that the so-called edict degrading Her Majesty was set aside and treated as void from the beginning; that the facts connected with the attack on the Palace were to be investigated by the Department of Justice and all guilty persons arrested, tried and punished. At the same time the death of Her Majesty was formally announced.

It was supposed by some that these measures would allay the popular discontent, but before daybreak on the morning of 28th November, a number of Koreans, disappointed that nothing more was done and incensed at the prospect of the obnoxious members of the Cabinet still remaining in control of affairs and in virtual possession of the King's person, made an attempt to enter the Palace, claiming that they were loyal to His Majesty and intended to rescue and restore him to his hereditary power. The attempt was ill managed and proved abortive. While many persons went to the gates and round the walls with much noise,

none got into the Palace grounds proper, but a few did penetrate to the Quagga (Examination) grounds at the rear of the Palace, but were easily dispersed and several of them captured. No one was injured, and so far as can be ascertained no foreigner, Japanese or Westerner, was engaged in the affair which, compared with that of 8th October, was quite insignificant and trivial.

The Cabinet, however, pretended to regard the matter as very serious, and subsequently a number of persons were arrested. At the same time three other persons were arrested for alleged connection with the murder of Her Majesty. It is certain that there was no disposition on the part of the Cabinet, and especially on that of the Department of Justice, to investigate fully the offence of October 8th or to detect and punish the real offenders. But something had to be done, the more because it was the intention to punish a number for the second attack, which had been directed against the Cabinet itself. All the three who were arrested for the Queen's murder were executed, but it is certain that two were innocent.

One of the three, Pak Sen by name, was scarcely more than a boy, and was already in prison charged with a minor offence, at the time of his arrest on the more serious charge. It is in evidence that a high official of the Law Department went to the prison and asked to see the prisoners. After inspecting them, he picked out and called attention to Pak Sen. It is fair to infer that that official, who since February 11th has been a fugitive, went to the prison for the purpose of finding some poor fellow on whom the crime could be fastened. The fiction that the deed had been committed by Koreans disguised as Japanese was still to be kept up, and Pak Sen answered this purpose because, being a Fusan man, he had associated much with Japanese and spoke their language, had cut off his top-knot and generally dressed in Japanese or western clothes. He seems to have been a drunken irresponsible character without friends. The evidence upon which he was convicted is before us, and consists entirely of a statement made by a woman who said that sometime in November last, being anxious to enforce the collection of some money due her from a Korean, she was advised to get the assistance of some one who had influence with the Japanese. Pak Sen was brought to her. He told her that at any time he could get fifty Japanese soldiers and fifty Japanese policemen to help him to collect debts. In point of fact he did get some of the money, but of course without the help of soldiers or police. When the money, amounting to about 60,000 cash was collected, he demanded and received half of it, and afterwards while drunk went to the woman's house to get the

balance and other receipts of money from her, and for this purpose threatened her with a sword, told her, as she said, that he was a great man, had killed many people and women a hundred times higher than she, and would kill her unless she gave him the money. He further told her that on the night of 7th October, he had gone down to the residence of the Tai Won-kun [near Yong-san, some three miles from Seoul] and there advised the Tai Won-kun as to the state of the nation and what he ought to do, and that next morning he went to the Palace gate, cut down and killed General Hong with a sword [General Hong, in point of fact, was shot] and had then gone into the Palace, seized the Queen, killed her and burned the body. It is possible that in his drunken efforts to make this Korean woman give him some money he may have told her this improbable tale. But no officer of law could possibly have believed it, and it is evident that the Department of Justice did not do so. Pak Sen denied the whole story and said that on the night of the 7th he was drunk and had slept at a house a long distance from the Palace, was there the next morning when the people were awakened by the firing at the Palace and had stayed at that house until late in the day. He named the people of the house and demanded that they be sent for, which was done, and they fully confirmed his story in every particular and showed conclusively that he could not have been at the Palace. There was not the slightest suspicion of collusion between him and them, because he had no means of communicating with them before they were questioned. When his innocence of that crime had been so completely established, the Minister of Law, Chang, altho told by the trial judge that he was innocent, ordered that he be tortured until he confessed his guilt; and the trial judge states that if he had in fact carried out fully the order of Chang, the man would have died under the torture. As it was, Pak Sen was twice subjected to horrible torture but all the time asserted his innocence and no confession of guilt could be extorted from him. Nevertheless Chang rendered a judgement declaring that the prisoner killed General Hong and then, going into the Palace, murdered the Queen and burned her body.

The case of Yun Suk Wu was, if possible, even more remarkable. There was no evidence taken by the Court except his own statement, and that conclusively showed that he had not been guilty of any wrong-doing. He was a Lieutenant of the *Kunrentui*, and long before dawn on the morning of the 8th was ordered by his Colonel to march his soldiers from their barracks to a place some distance in the rear of the Palace, the explanation being given him that they intended to have a night-drill as had been

done before. He obeyed the orders and a Japanese military instructor accompanied the troops. Afterwards, the gates being then open, one of the Colonels (since fled) ordered him to take his troops thro the Quagga ground into the Palace grounds, which he did, and they arrived after the disturbance was over. He was then ordered to station guards at several gates within the Palace grounds and in going his rounds for that purpose saw a body being burned and on inquiry was told that it was the body of a waiting-maid. Late the next day he told his Colonel, Woo Pom Sun, that a body had been burned close to where His Majesty was staying and that it was bad to have the remains so close to him. His Colonel ordered him to clean up the place and if he found any bones unconsumed to throw them into the artificial lake near by. This Colonel, it is now known, was one of the conspirators and has fled. Yun Suk Wu went to the place and found some bones, but instead of throwing them into the lake, as ordered by his Colonel, he reverently wrapped them up and buried them at a distant spot in the Palace. He said at the trial that he had heard on that day that Her Majesty was missing, but that all he knew was that these were the bones of some lady connected with the Palace and that he did not like to cast them away. Upon this evidence, Chang, the Minister of Law, condemned him and he was executed. Chang's judgement concludes as follows:—

"There is much that excites suspicion in his conduct. Moreover it was an act of great impudence and impropriety on his part to have dared to move the sacred corpse which he knew to be whose it was."

From the evidence before us it may be fairly inferred that this prisoner was condemned to death not for disturbing the bones but because he devoutly buried instead of throwing them into the lake as ordered by his traitorous Colonel. The questions put to him indicate that he was under suspicion of having preserved the bones with the object of showing them to western foreigners and thus furnishing evidence of the horrible crime that had been committed. While there were military officers whom the Cabinet knew to be traitors and in complicity with the events of the 8th (who were not arrested), this man was clearly innocent.

The third person convicted, Yi Ju Hoi, was formerly a Vice-President of the War Department. From evidence we have ourselves taken we believe that he was really guilty of complicity in the affairs of the 8th, but the evidence taken by the Court which condemned him certainly does not establish his guilt and there was nothing before that Court which justified his condemnation. That Court took no evidence except the statement of the prisoner,

and according to his account he went into the Palace from purely patriotic motives and while there performed several meritorious acts. But he intimated that the Cabinet people knew all about the affair and by name mentions Chung Pyung Ha.

It is believed that Yi was selected by the Cabinet for condemnation not because he was guilty, for there were others even more deeply involved than he, but (1) because, although he had been a Vice-Minister, their relations with him had become very hostile and they were bitter enemies, and they also feared that he might be induced to expose the whole plot ; (2) because, realizing that the other two persons, Pak and Yun, were of little or no importance, the one being an irresponsible vagabond and the other a mere Lieutenant in the army, they recognised that it was necessary, for the sake of appearances and in order to shield the higher officials, to convict and execute some one of rank and reputation.

Altho, as I have said, only three persons were arrested for complicity in the attack on the Palace and the murder of Her Majesty on the 8th of October, thirty-three persons were arrested for the trivial affair of 28th November, which, however, was directed against the Cabinet itself. The trials in both cases proceeded simultaneously and were concluded in the latter part of December. Of those arrested for the later affair, two were sentenced to death, four to exile for life and four to three years' imprisonment and of these ten all but three were subjected to torture during the trials.

Among the convicted was Yi Chai Sun, a cousin and faithful adherent of the king, a man in whom His Majesty reposed the greatest confidence, and who since 11th February has been Minister of the Royal Household. The evidence upon which he was convicted shows that early in November a Korean named Im called upon him and showed him two edicts purporting to come from the king. Prince Yi managed to get hold of the papers and showed them to His Majesty, who at once pronounced them false and directed him to burn them. This he did and thereafter refused to have anything to do with Im. The judgement rendered by Chang, Minister of Justice, finds that Prince Yi was guilty "because he kept a secret which he should at once have divulged *to the proper authorities*,"(!) and sentenced him on that ground to three years' imprisonment. In other words, this faithful confidant and near relation of His Majesty was sentenced to three years' imprisonment because he had consulted with His Majesty, had shown him the papers, had obeyed his orders in burning them but had not taken them to the Cabinet.

The proof before us shows that all the evidence and proceedings in all the above-mentioned cases were, from time to time, submitted to the consideration of the Cabinet, and that they had full knowledge of all that had been done before the final judgements were rendered.

During December, January and the early part of February, several far-reaching measures were taken by the Cabinet, among them the issuance of an edict ordering the people to cut off their top-knots. This proved most unpopular. The whole country was violently agitated and in many places rebellions broke out. All this time His Majesty had no power to control affairs. His Palace guard was under the command of Yi Chin Ho [denounced in the Proclamation of 11th Feb.], a man entirely subservient to the Cabinet and ready at any time to do their bidding; those who possessed his confidence, and others supposed to be in his interest, had been, like Prince Yi, expelled from the Palace grounds, and he was surrounded by persons, who were not only the tools of his enemies the Cabinet, but some of them directly concerned in the assassination of his royal Consort. Among these latter was Chung Pyung Ha, who had not only, as stated above, traitorously prevented Her Majesty from escaping, but was also very active in the matter of the edict which degraded her to the lowest class. This man, on December 30th, was appointed a full Minister of the Cabinet. Cho, who had been dismissed from office under circumstances which are also narrated above, was on January 30th reinstated Minister of War, and thus put in command of all the troops, and it was understood that Kwan, the dismissed Minister of Police, then absent in Japan, would be reappointed Minister of Police.

The Hiroshima judgement in Japan, acquitting the Japanese whom the judgement itself showed were guilty of connection with the conspiracy of October 8th, had been rendered and published and it was openly stated that one or more of these Japanese would be brought back to Korea and given important advisory positions in the Korean Government.

The people were rising in insurrection on all sides; had killed officials in several places and were threatening to march upon the Capital. Under these circumstances His Majesty, finding the situation intolerable both for himself and for the nation, and having reason to believe that a plot was then on foot which threatened his personal safety as well as that of the Crown Prince, determined to take decisive steps and on February 11th left the Palace and went to the Russian Legation.

His Majesty confided his intention to no official in the Palace nor to any one connected with the Cabinet, and altho

closely watched managed, early in the morning, to go out thro the East Gate of the Palace in a closed chair such as is used by the Palace women. The Crown Prince accompanied him in a similar chair. It had been customary for ladies of the Court and the women connected with the Palace to pass in and out of this gate in such chairs and the guards, supposing that they contained women, permitted them to pass without question.

His Majesty and the Crown Prince had no escort, and the people in the Palace, supposing that they were asleep, did not discover for some time that they had left. They proceeded at once to the Russian Legation, where they arrived about twenty minutes past seven, and at once summoned a number of Koreans whom His Majesty knew to be faithful to himself, and issued edicts dismissing most of the members of the old Cabinet, appointing others in their place and denouncing six persons, viz., Cho Hui Yen, Minister of War, Woo Pum Sun, Yi Tu Hwang and Yi Pom Nai, Colonels in the army and connected with the attack on the Palace of October 8th, Kwan Yong Chin, the ex-Minister of Police, and Yi Chin Ho, who, up to the issuing of the Edicts had been in command of the Palace guards. Three of these persons, Woo Pum Sun, Yi Tu Hwang and Kwan Yong Chin, were at the time absent from Seoul and supposed to be in Japan. Cho, the Minister of War, and the two others immediately fled. All the soldiers and all the police with their officers rallied to the support of His Majesty as soon as they learned what had been done. The Prime Minister of the old Cabinet, Kim Hong Chip and the Minister for Agriculture, Chung Pyung Ha, altho not denounced in any proclamation, were arrested by the police and in the tumult and excitement were killed and their bodies exposed upon the street, where they were stoned and otherwise maltreated by the infuriated populace. No one else was arrested or killed on that day except a young Japanese who had gone with others to view the dead bodies, got into an altercation and was stoned, dying shortly afterwards. In the city, order and quiet was almost immediately restored.

As to the part taken by Koreans other than those I have mentioned, in the occurrences of October 8th, I have to report, That where the plot originated and by whom it was carried out appears from the Hiroshima judgement given above. If any suggestion or suspicion of such a plot, involving, as it did, the death of Her Majesty and such radical changes in the affairs of the nation, had got abroad, it would have been easily frustrated, and therefore few persons were entrusted with the secret and